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The mariner tales by Vittorio Barzoni

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Translator's foreword

Vittorio Barzoni lived in a time of great political turmoil and even greater idealism. The rise of the patriotic and romantic movement had a deep impact on the Italian literature, that had by then successfully emancipated itself from the verbose over-ornamentation of the XVI century and undergone a profound stylistic assessment by the purist movement during the following century.

Still, the language in which Barzoni wrote is quite different – in tone, style and aesthetics – from present-day Italian. The effort of this translation has been to mediate between comprehensibility and the preservation of the original text, with all its bombast and over-use of adjectives. If the result feels odd to the English reader, I might just have been successful in conveying the oddity that the original text inspires to the contemporary Italian audience.

A short biography of Vittorio Barzoni

Vittorio Barzoni from Lonato (Brescia) was a reactionary writer; he had faith in the reforms of the Republic of Venice, and expressed his hate for the French Revolution in *Il Solitario delle Alpi* (Venice, 1794). Enemy of the democratic philosophers, he attacked Napoleon when he came to Venice «with the "tables of rights" in his left hand and the scourge in the right one...». He dared to write a courageous report to Bonaparte himself on the status of the free Countries of Italy and on the need for them to be united into one Republic, independent of any foreign protection. Forced to flee from Venice, he took refuge in Florence, host of the Grand Duke, and returned to Venice after the peace of Campoformido. He then moved to Vienna, in 1802, where he was welcomed to the literary and political world. But for his opposition to Napoleon he was expelled (1804); he escaped to Malta, where he continued his activity as a writer and agent of the English government against Napoleon himself. Returning to his country, after the fall of the tyrant (1815), he noted how the Austrian government was not better than the French one[1].

VITTORIO BARZONI

[1] Agostino Zanelli, *Barzoni Vittorio*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, 1930.

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Introduction*

Vittorio Barzoni (Lonato, Brescia, Italy 1767-Lonato 1843) was an italian anti-democratic writer, member of an important and wealthy family that allowed him to study at the University of Padua. This famous Lonatese (habitant of Lonato) is well known as a polemist, Italian patriot and anti-Napoleonic journalist, author of the famous satire *I Romani in Grecia*, a harsh invective against the French invasion of Italy and the fall of the Republic of Venice.

The years encompassing Vittorio Barzoni's return to Italy until his death are amongst the least explored by scholars. During that final chapter of his life the former journalist withdrew from public life and abandoned any political commitment[2]. In 1832 he moved back to his hometown Lonato only to leave two years later for Scannabue. During this time Barzoni had to withstand significant expenses due to the financial trouble caused by his brother Carlo Antonio.

So far it was common belief that the erudite gave up literary production entirely during his final years. None of his biographers cite the three tales Barzoni wrote between 1833 and 1834. I discovered the tales while examining old newspapers and books held in Padua's Civic Library and in some private collections.

They are: the war-report *La Pugna Navale* (published in *L'Iride o il Dono di Moda* by Lorenzo Sonzogno in late 1833[3]), *Naufragio sofferto nell'anno 1805 dalla nave della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali detta l'Earl of Abergavenny. Narrazione* (in *La Strenna Italiana, Per l'anno 1834*, Milano, late 1833) and finally *La Marianna Oconor. Racconto marittimo* (in «*L'Eco*», Milan, June 1834)[4].

In these mariner tales, examined in the following pages, Barzoni seems to be well-acquainted with the precepts of Romanticism and after having experimented with Tragedy as a theatrical style he managed to adapt it into two short novels about ill-fated sea voyages.

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* This text appeared in 2018 on the website Lonato Fra Storia e Arte (http://www.lonato-fra-storia-e-arte.it/files/I-racconti-marinareschi-di-Vittorio-Barzoni-1.pdf); here it is presented with a few adjustments and with new additions.

2 Ulisse Papa (1844-1913) in his biography of Barzoni reports that his father, the doctor Pietro Paolo Papa, heard him rant with discontent about the Austrian Government and express sympathy towards the political prisoners held captive at the Spielberg Castle. It has to be noted that Papa, involved in the Italian Risorgimento himself, wrote in a strong patriotic tone.

3 The publication of L'Iride o il Dono di Moda was announced in the Gazzetta Privilegiata di Milano in number 318 of Thursday, November 14th , 1833, in number 323 of Tuesday, November 19th , 1833, in number 333 of Friday, November 29th , 1833, in number 346 of Thursday, December 12th , 1833 and in number 356 of Sunday, December 22th , 1833.

4 In Pierfranco Blesio, *Barzoni Vittorio,* in *Registro Soci, Compendio bio-bibliografico dei Soci dell'Accademia del Dipartimento del Mella, poi Ateneo di Brescia, dall'anno di fondazione all'anno bicentenario* (1802 – 2002).

Scholar Ivano Lorenzoni recognizes some pre-Romantic inflections in his 2014 essay dedicated to Barzoni's Drama *Narina*, written (and likely performed) in Venice, in 1798, and printed in Crema in 1825. While *Narina* marks the beginning of this stylistic transition, *Naufragio* and *Marianna Oconor* depict a full stylistic maturity.

Barzoni's model is clearly the English Romanticism as represented by Wordsworth and Coleridge, with whom the Venetian gentleman came into contact; he met Coleridge in Malta while directing the newspaper *Il Cartaginese*[5]. He donated a copy of Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta, together with an English translation of the book, to Coleridge[6].

After returning to Italy following the Restoration, the former journalist evidently tried to alter his writing style, although he never completely managed to get rid of his master's influence, Melchiorre Cesarotti (1730-1808). For example, his novels from 1833-34 reflect the new Romantic style by abandoning the overuse of capital letters, while keeping the pompous and bloated tone typical of his previous works.

Before moving on, a warning is in order. The study of the past is a path full of perils and unknowns. A full examination of the *liaison* between Barzoni and the newspapers of Lombardy in the late 1830's is still in progress, and it is likely that more material will surface along the way. The following work is therefore far from being complete, and it therefore merely represents a scrutiny of what we know so far.

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5 Coleridge visited Malta in 1804 and worked there for a short period of time as a secretary agent for the English Governor John Ball (1757-1809), who was quite popular among the islanders. The poet returned to Britain in 1806, but the following years he returned to Malta and, between 1807 and 1808, he traveled to Sicily and Italy. In Barry Hough, Howard Davis, Lydia Davis, *Coleridge's Laws: A Study of Coleridge in Malta*, Cambridge, Open book publishers, 2010, page 155; Giambattista Pagani, *Vittorio Barzoni Elogio*, Brescia, Quadri, 1843, page 16. It is to be noted that Coleridge was able to understand basic Italian (in Paola Degli Esposti, *La scena tentatrice Coleridge, Byron, Baillie*, Padova, Esedra, 2008, page 161).

6 That copy of *Rivoluzioni della Repubblica* is in possession of the University of Toronto (Victoria University Library, ADK-7707).

The "Pugna navale"

The *Pugna navale storica*[7], «described with youthful energy»[8] by Barzoni, can be considered as his last anti-Napoleonic work, therefore proving to be particularly relevant.
The *Pugna navale* is a narration aimed at recreating an historic event. It is a report of the naval battle occurring between the British and the French on November 29th, 1811:

> Oh the fierce year 1811! ...A year of wars and blood! And blood wasn't just shed in Europe, yet also on the waters lapping upon its shores! ...At 8 am of the 29th of November the British frigates Alceste, Active, Unitè and the schooner Acorn, commanded by senior officer Maxwell, having sighted near Lissa three French sails, decided to attack them.
>
> The ships were the 28-gun store-ship Persanne and the frigates Pomone and Pauline, which at the first sight of the British vessels formed a line and stood towards them aggressively.
>
> Forthwith Maxwell from the Alceste ordered his ships to form a strict line of battle: this arranged they moved against the enemy, ready for the fight.
>
> It was 10:30 am of the same day [...][9]

The British ultimately won the battle:

> [...] the English commander ordered the Unity to pursue her, and at the same time he sent a message to his men: "Remember the battle of Lissa"[10]; the sailors shouted joyfully [...][11]

Barzoni concludes:

> Three days after the fight, both winners and defeated left Lissa, headed to Malta. Along the route, the din of war soon left room for the harmonic rhythms of the British military band. The French held captive sang along the glorious hymns. –Well surprising the French people are! When triumphant they deafen the world with trills, warbles and screams: once overcome they yell even more. Exulting they ascend to Triumph, whistling they walk to the gallows. The Girondists sang freedom chants by ear, in the moment they were facing their doom. The Capuchin Sisters in Nantes hummed praises

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[7] V. Barzoni, *La pugna navale*, in *L'Iride*, op. cit., Milano 1833, pp. 270-278.

[8] In *Biblioteca Italiana*, raccolta, Tomo LXXII, Anno Diciottesimo, ottobre, novembre e dicembre, 1833, *Appendice Parte II scienze lettere ed arti straniere*, p. 96.

[9] V. Barzoni, *La pugna navale*, op. cit., p. 270-271

[10] The battle of Lissa referred in the text occurred on March 13th, 1811 and saw French and English ships collide, resulting in the victory of the British fleet. It should not be confused with the more famous Battle of Lissa from 1866.

[11] V. Barzoni, *La pugna navale*, op. cit., p. 271

to the Lord as the axe descended on their necks; and Bonaparte, the remorseless man, once frenchified, about to ramshackle the harmless Prussia, from his haughty horse would hum the same vulgar ballad composed far ago for the duke of Marlborough. Dangerous and terrifying as this Bonaparte was, he still would sometimes adhere to Horace's precept: *misce stultitiam consiliis brevem*[12].

12 "Mix a little foolishness with your serious plans". Ibid., pp. 277-278, citing Horace, *Ods* (IV, 12, vv. 26-28)

Picture for *Naufragio sofferto nell'anno 1805 dalla nave della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali detta L'Earl of Abergavenny,* from *La Strenna Italiana, Per l'anno 1834*, Milano, Paolo Ripamonti-Carpano, 1833.

Naufragio sofferto nell'anno 1805 dalla nave della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali detta L'Earl of Abergavenny

At the end of 1833 Barzoni put another tale into print: *Shipwreck of the East India Company ship called The Earl of Abergavenny in 1805*, published in *La Strenna Italiana, Per l'anno 1834* (pp. 67-92).

At that time a new publishing format was gaining popularity in Italy: the so-called *strenna* (or gift-book), a collection of prose and poetry placed for sale for New Year's Day. The same volume hosts a composition, *Ad un amico, Ode*, by Carlo Emmanuele Muzzarelli (1797-1856), the same priest that in 1830 asked Barzoni to send him his Autobiography, to be inserted in a *Biographical collection of notable contemporary Italians* that eventually never came to life.

A note by the editor of the *Shipwreck of the East India Company ship called The Earl of Abergavenny in 1805* reads:

> This vivid narration was first published in a renowned Italian newspaper, but the author kindly accepted to revise and expand it into what can be considered an original work, certainly worthy of a name such cherished by his friends and by Italy[13].

The tale recounts of the tragic events occurring to a couple of young lovers embarked on the *Earl of Abergavenny* during her last ill-fated voyage[14].

> Elisa Blair –so sweet! ...She was only 16! Not only she possessed the virtue of being in the age of roses, but her cheeks had the color of the horizon at sunrise; her lips seemed two carnations moved by sweet breezes such the zephyrs of springtime; her eyes retained rays so sweet they expressed the delicate temper of her heart; an extremely modest manner was spreading around her supple forms.
>
> While she was inspecting her cabin on the *Earl of Abergavenny*, the First Officer Eduardo Bàgget gracious like a flower of love approached, and more than two people, the souls of the sweet girl and the sensitive young man met, and these two souls with their unspoken and arcane tongue seemed to communicate in a glimpse that they liked each other[15].

The tale also references the famous death of John Wordsworth (1772-1805), the captain of the *Earl of Abergavenny* and brother of the famous English poet. Barzoni and William

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[13] *La Strenna Italiana, Per l'anno 1834*, Milano, Ripamonti-Carpano, 1833, pp. 67-68.

[14] A true historical event: the Earl of Abergavenny was an East Indiaman that was shipwrecked on February 5th, 1805, on a sandbank called *the Shambles*. The Captain of the boat was John Wordsworth, the brother of the great English poet. The captain tried to repair the boat in Weymouth Bay, but the sandbank had caused a hole in the hull.

[15] *La Strenna Italiana, Per l'anno 1834*, Milano, Ripamonti-Carpano, 1833, pp. 67-68.

Wordsworth were notably in contact, which led to the fascinating speculation that Wordsworth's sonnet *On the extinction of the Venetian Republic* was inspired by the book *Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta* written by Barzoni[16].

Wordsworth sonnet reads:

> Once did She hold the gorgeous east in fee;
>
> And was the safeguard of the west: the worth
>
> Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
>
> Venice, the eldest Child of Liberty.
>
> She was a maiden City, bright and free;
>
> No guile seduced, no force could violate;
>
> And, when she took unto herself a Mate,
>
> She must espouse the everlasting Sea.
>
> And what if she had seen those glories fade,
>
> Those titles vanish, and that strength decay;
>
> Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid
>
> When her long life hath reached its final day:
>
> Men are we, and must grieve when even the Shade
>
> Of that which once was great is passed away.

Wordsworth's poem seems actually more directed to the British than to the former citizens of the Venetian Republic: the tale of a maritime Power devoted to protecting the West has a clear patriotic significance for the British Empire[17].

In this excerpt from the tale of the shipwreck of the *Earl of Abergavenny* Barzoni seems to be writing in the first person:

> Unlucky Wordsworth!... I've seen your friend Collerigde [sic], the same Collerigde second to none among British poets, mourn your death without any of my words of

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[16] Alan G. Hill, *On the date and significance of Wordsworth's Sonnet "On the extinction of the Venetian Republic"*, in «*The reviews of english studies*», 120: 30, November 1979, pp. 441-445.

[17] Timothy Fulford, Peter J. Kitson, *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780-1830*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 243.
Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta was published in English in 1804, but the translation was not approved by the author: *An Accurate Account of the Fall of the Republic of Venice...in which the French system of undermining and revolutionizing states is exposed; and the true character of Buonaparte faithfully portrayed*, from a text by Barzoni translated by John Hickley, London, Hatchard, 1804.

comfort. Ah, if his tears couldn't bring you back to life, at least they will make your name immortal[18]!

It is a safe guess that the idea for the tale came up during the conversations Coleridge and Barzoni had in Malta, since the *Earl of Abergavenny*'s shipwreck was given great emphasis at the time. The transport vessel from the East Indian Company was launched on February 1st, 1796 and on February 1st, 1805 she left for its last voyage to Bengal and China, under the guidance of Captain John Wordsworth. On February 5th, off the coast of the isle of Portland, the ship ran aground on a sandbank, hit Shamble Bank in Weymouth Bay with 263 casualties. John Wordsworth did what he could to save the ship, but ended up drowning when the *Earl of Abergavenny* sank about a mile off the coast[19].

In 1798 Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth conceived and published the *Lyrical Ballads*, which marks the start of the British Romanticist movement, including the notorious *Rime of the Ancient Mariner.*

It is also significant that Coleridge, in his *Zapolya: a Christmas Tale*, composed between 1815 and 1816 and printed in 1817[20], sets *Barzoni* as a secondary character, never appearing on the scene. *Zapolya*, as noted by scholars, evokes Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo[21]. Presented as a Christmas tale[22], *Zapolya* was composed only months after the battle and the emperor's definitive exile to Saint Helena.

Structured in a *Prelude* of one act and a *Seguito* of four acts, *Zapolya* is set in Illyria in an indefinite time, but in a moment of great political turmoil[23].

King Andreas is dying, and his son is too young to rule. The king orders his brother Emerik, his wife Zapolya and his loyal commander Raab Kiuprili to act as regents. But soon after the King dies, Emerik usurps the throne with the complicity of part of the aristocracy and the military. Kiuprili, Zapolya and the legitimate heir are forced to flee[24].

The struggle in *Zapolya* is between an illegitimate power acclaimed by the people and one that derives its legitimacy from God. Emerik and his allies consider the election as the privileged source of their power and they are presented as opposite to God's Will[25].

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[18] *La Strenna Italiana, Per l'anno 1834*, Milano, Ripamonti-Carpano, 1833, pp. 85-86.

[19] Barzoni wrote: «This cruel catastrophe happened about a mile away from the Weymouth cove! Dying is terrible, it is atrocious to die miserably, it is worse to die in front of your own home! » (cit. from *La Strenna Italiana*, op. cit., p. 85).

[20] S. T. Coleridge, *Zapolya*, A Christmas tale in two parts, Londra, Fenner, 1817; Paola Degli Esposti, *La scena tentatrice Coleridge, Byron, Baillie*, Padova, Esedra, 2008, p. 133).

[21] P. Degli Esposti, op. cit., p. 138.

[22] Ibid., p. 136.

[23] Ibid., p. 135.

[24] Ibid., *p.* 136.

[25] Ibid., pp. 139-140.

It is noteworthy that in Coleridge's *Zapolya* Barzoni is merely present as a doctor with questionable ethics[26].

[26] Ibid., p. 157.

La Marianna Oconor

Barzoni's third mariner's tale, *La Marianna Oconor*, was printed in June 1834. The first part was published by *L'Eco* on June the 18th, 1834, in the *Letteratura* section. The second part followed on June 20th and the last part on June 23rd, 1834.

The tale is about the tragedy at sea of a mother and his son. The setting is once again that of the war between France and the British Empire.

> Marianna Oconor was as beautiful as hope, but to her beauty she added her dear youth, and a fascinating grace. Such an attractive creature showed up in late 1811 at the harbor of *Wingo-Sound*, to the owner of the freight vessel *Archimede*, and asked him if she could pay for a place onboard. The gentle lady was too influential to be refused. Once she had laid down the baggage that contained all her belongings, she sat. The shine in her eyes, the charm of her face and the grace of her smile made everyone there forget about the freezing weather, the sky without sunshine, and the harsh, unforgiving sea.
>
> Despite the intimidating weather, at the beginning of the eighteenth day of December of that year, the *Archimede* left *Wingo-Sound* and set sail across the English Channel. She was part of a convoy of 119 small vessels, most of them freighters; they were escorted by the *Hero*, a ship of the line, the *Grasshopper*, a brigantine, and the two armed caravels *Egeria* and *Prince William*, because of the ongoing war between Britain, France and their allies.

The gloomy atmospheres typical of Romanticism are evident:

> And the crows were rushing down from the black clouds, raiding with hoarse and sinister screeches above the foaming water, the most daring of them roosting on the shaking antennas of the *Grasshopper*, restlessly scouting the sea for the dead, hearing them, craving for them. Miss Oconor froze at the sight of some of those crows; her mind began to wander to their voracious and cruel nature, to the dreadful meal they were having, and to the soft flesh of her poor Roberto, and she was petrified in mourning[27].

The third chapter of the story, published in *L'Eco* on June 23rd, 1834, is introduced by a citation from Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803) appearing on the front page directly above the text:

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[27] This is the end of the second part of the tale in «*L'Eco, Giornale di Scienze, Lettere, Arti, Mode e Teatri*», Numero 74, venerdì 20 giugno 1834, Anno Settimo.

Here is a mother who has nothing left to lose

ALFIERI

This quote is taken from the *Polinice*, a tragedy pubblished in 1783[28]. As I stated during a conference dedicated to Barzoni[29], the journalist is quite similar to Alfieri: he shares with him his hate for tyranny, his repulsion for Napoleon, fondness for the British political model, but also his friendship with the writer Melchiorre Cesarotti and the Countess Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi (1763-1836). There are many elements that seem to connect Barzoni to Alfieri, and still a connection hasn't been proved; there is no mention of Barzoni in any of the many essays regarding Alfieri's life.

The ending of *La Marianna Oconor* is tragic:

> The furious, menacing breakers approached the *Hero*, rushed over her, covered her up. Marianna, both freezing and sweating at the same time, followed the waves with a terrified gaze, and when they rolled back unveiling the *Hero* stripped of any living thing, her limbs froze, her pupils went turbid and goggle, her upper eyelids came closer, her mind went wild.
>
> Roaming and rambling on the beach, amidst the wreckage came the owner of the *Archimede*, advancing towards her; she grabbed him and while threatening his life she bursted: *Not a moment of ado, not a useless word, no uncertain or ambiguous answer: I want to know where my son is, I want to know what happened to him!* The attacked, surprised, with a grave pain in his voice said: *Your dear Roberto, sweet Marianna... was miserably... and with him all of his comrades... devoured by the sea.* When the terrifying answer reverberated, the poor woman threw herself from the shore to the water, and frantically stabbing the sea, come nightfall she drowned. Soon thereafter the winds started to calm down, the waves became smaller and the terrible storm came to an end. Around midnight the sky, the earth, the sea, everything was calm.
>
> At the beginning of the next day the body of the ill-fated Marianna was washed ashore at the Texell. Even dead she was still beautiful, and the shy gleams of dawn caressing her gave a celestial look to her forms. It seemed as if a divine creature was sleeping the sleep of goodness and innocence. Religion prayed on her body, then dug a grave on the

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[28] V. Alfieri, *Tragedie*, Vol. I, Firenze, Sansoni, 1985, pp. 199-201; «ecco madre, cui nulla a perder resta» (p. 253).

[29] Conference "*La caduta della Serenissima e Vittorio Barzoni L'intellettuale che sfidò Napoleone Bonaparte*", Padova (Veneto, Italy), Museo Storico della Terza Armata, 09/ 11/ 2017.

very place she was laying, put her in it, covered her up with light earth, put a cross on the tumulus, and on the cross wrote two words, *Poor Marianna!*

The tale was also later published in *L'Iride o il Dono di Moda, pel capo d'anno, o pei giorni onomastici* N.º II, Milan, by the printer Lorenzo Sonzogno at the end of 1834[30].

A review of *Marianna Oconor* from 1834 reads:

> What follows is *La Marianna Oconor,* a mariners tale by Mr. Vittorio Barzoni. The style here is significantly more elevated, if not extremely smooth. The author, by describing a series of extremely sad maritime events, shows a mastery of his language that reaches out far more than that of many of other fellow Italian speakers.
>
> A mother and a wife battered by the cruelest of destinies in her deepest affections cannot but stir a great deal of compassion, waned by Barzoni with an invocation probably more directed to showcase the author's poetic soul than the unfortunate woman's delirium[31].

From a mere literary point of view, the tale is no masterpiece, not distancing itself from many other works of its time.

Another review, published in *L'Eco*, Wednesday December 24th, (Anno Settimo, N.° 154) had more praising tones:

> In the *Marianna* Oconor, novel by Vittorio Barzoni, [...] one can still recognize the fresh and thriving creativity of the author of *Romani in Grecia* and *Descrizioni*; Nature after all has its favorites among writers, those whose white hair cannot stop the never-ending flares of talent; similar to those volcanoes perpetually erupting from their snow-covered tops[32].

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[30] Pierfranco Blesio, *Barzoni Vittorio*, in *Registro Soci, Compendio bio-bibliografico dei Soci dell'Accademia del Dipartimento del Mella, poi Ateneo di Brescia, dall'anno di fondazione all'anno bicentenario (1802 – 2002).*

[31] *Strenne ed almanacchi per l'anno 1835*, in *Raccoglitore italiano e straniero ossia rivista mensile europea di Scienze, Lettere, Belle Arti, Bibliografia, Varietà*, Anno Primo, Parte Seconda, Milano, Stella e figli, 1834, p. 691.

[32] «*L'Eco, Giornale di Scienze, Lettere, Arti, Mode e Teatri*», Numero 154, Anno Settimo, mercoledì 24 dicembre 1834.

Conclusions

It is quite peculiar that Barzoni began his literary career with *Tributo di un solitario alle ceneri di Angelo Emo* (Venice, 1792), a tribute to the glorious *Capitano da Mar* (admiral) of the Republic of Venice, and ended it with some mariner tales, after having become famous throughout Europe for his anti-democratic essays.

The writer, in his works from 1833 and 1834 shows familiarity with the lexicon, the terms and the instruments of navigation, perhaps a legacy of his Venetian past. All stories are related to Great Britain, almost a sign of a particular interest that the Italian patriot showed towards the English political order. In the last century of the Venetian Republic, intellectuals who didn't embrace the French in fashion and in political thought turned their gaze to England[33]. Barzoni was among them, although he wasn't the first nor the most ideologically orthodox to this wave of *Anglophilia*. To the *Lonatese* writer, England was certainly a model from which to draw inspiration, but not one to follow undiscerningly: for Barzoni, a Catholic, the "power to the people" was a somewhat abstract, bizarre and ultimately dangerous theory; he stated that the democratic model was all but universal, theorizing an Italian model with limited popular participation that didn't reject the traditional hierarchy of "the Throne and the Altar".

Barzoni, since *Il Solitario delle Alpi*, argued that a legitimate government has to rely on the history and customs of its people. The best political solution for Italy, according to the writer, was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and "moderated" democracy, quite similar to Vittorio Alfieri's conception, but also strongly original and different. A "House of Lords" composed of the princes of the Italian States and the Italian prelates, in charge of electing an Italian emperor (a model broadly inspired by Venice), and the lower chamber of the Parliament being elected by the people (like in England). This was the "Italian dream" Barzoni articulated in his Maltese journals.

These three maritime stories were the lasts product of Barzoni's genius and, with this contribution, they are finally included in the biographical studies on the writer of Lonato.

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[33] Arturo Graf, *Anglomania italiana del Settecento*, Roma, Nuova Antologia, 1910.

Vittorio Barzoni's works (1792-1835)

Tributo di un solitario alle ceneri di Angelo Emo, Venice, Andreola (?), 1792

Il Solitario delle Alpi, Venice, Andreola, 1794; 1800

Lettera sopra il monumento di Angelo Emo scolpito da Canova, Venice, Andreola (?), 1795

Orazione per Verona al generale Bonaparte, Venice [one copy cites Verona], Andreola, 1797

Prospetto Del Tribunale delle Carceri degli ex-Inquisitori di Stato / Descrizione delle Carceri degl'Ex-Inquisitori di Stato, Venice, Andreola, 1797; in *L'Equatore*, 1797

Rapporto sullo stato attuale dei paesi liberi d'Italia e sulla necessità ch'essi sieno fusi in una sola repubblica presentato al generale in capo dell'armata francese, Venice, Andreola, 1797 (*Rapporto indirizzato a Napoleone Bonaparte*, 1798)

Rapporto di risposta al rapporto, scritto contro il primo mio rapporto, Florence, 1797

Dialogo tra Eraclito e Democrito redivivi sulla rivoluzione politica di Venezia, Florence (?)/ Venice (?), Andreola (?), 1797

Descrizioni, Leghorn, 1797; Venice, Andreola, 1797 and 1800; Messina, 1812; Milan, Baret in 1815

I Romani nella Grecia / I Romani in Grecia, Venice, Andreola (?), 1797 / 1798 (?) [several editions][34]

Prose, Venice, Andreola, 1798

Raccolta di varie carte, Venice, Andreola (?), 1798; 1799 (same text as *Prose*)

Memorabili avvenimenti successi sotto i tristi auspicj della Repubblica Francese, Venice, Andreola, 1799; 1800 (Later *Le Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Francese*)

Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta, Venice, Andreola, 1799 / 1800 (?), Maltese reprint "Filadelfia, 1804"; 1805; later Sonzogno 1814

Colloqui Civici, Venice, Andreola, 1799 (collection of texts from the newspaper *L'Equatore* modified and re-edited)

L'Ebe del Canova posseduta dal Conte Giuseppe Albrizzi, Venice, Andreola, 1800, later Venice, Palese, 1803; Padua, Penda, 1811

I motivi della rottura del trattato d'Amiens, Malta, Stamperia del Governo, 1804 (later *Dissertazione Politica*, 1811)

[34] This text was printed in several editions: Verona s.d.; Malaga 1792 (wrong date of printing); 1797; Londra 1797; Venezia 1798; 1799; Hamburg 1800; Genova 1849 (P. Blesio, op. cit.).

Il Cartaginese Giornale Politico, «Filadelfia» [sic], 1804 (reprint of the articles of newspaper *Il Cartaginese*)

Operette, Malta, Stamperia del Governo, 1808 (including *I Romani in Grecia*, *Il Solitario delle Alpi*, *Le Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Francese*)

Orazione funebre scritta per la succeduta morte di Sua Altezza Serenissima Monsignor Lodovico Carlo di Borbone Orleans conte di Beaujolois Principe del Sangue Reale di Francia nato alli 7 ottobre dell'anno 1779 e morto in Malta alli 30 di maggio dell'anno 1808, Malta, Stamperia del Governo, 1808

Discorsi, Malta, 1808, later Milan, 1815; Milan, Silvestri, 1821

In morte di Sua Eccellenza il cavaliere Alessandro Gio' Ball Baronetto cavaliere dell'Ordine di San Ferdinando Contrammiraglio del Regno Unito della Gran Bretagna ed Irlanda, regio civile commissionario per Sua Maestà Britannica nelle isole di Malta e Gozo, Malta, 1809 (later Milano, Silvestri, 1821 in *Discorsi*)

Dissertazione Politica, Malta, Stamperia del Governo, 1811 (regarding *I motivi della rottura del trattato d'Amiens*)

Confutazione degli errori di padre Carlo Giacinto, Messina, 1812

Descrizioni, Milan, Fusi, 1815, later Milan, Baret, 1815

La peste di Malta, Acireale, Ragonisi, 1818 (text from *Descrizioni*)

Narina, Crema, 1825, later Crema, Ronna, 1825, 1826; 1828; Lodi, Orcesi, 1834

Belfonte descritto, Lodi, Orcesi, 1825

La pugna navale, (in «*L'Iride*», Milan, 1833)

Naufragio sofferto nell'anno 1805 dalla nave della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali detta L'Earl of Abergavenny. Narrazione (in «*La Strenna Italiana*» *Per l'anno 1834*, Milan, December 1833)

La Marianna Oconor. Racconto marittimo (in «*L'Eco*», Milan, June 1834; «*L'Iride*», 1834)